

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15  
TRSE-00 DODE-00 ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00  
HA-05 CU-04 COME-00 /087 W  
-----012443 240729Z /21

O R 240610Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5418  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION USNATO  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USIA WASHDC  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1527

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, OCON  
SUBJ: BELGRADE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 23  
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SUMMARY: NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) FAILED TO REACH  
AGREEMENT ON COMMON TEXT OF A SHORT-FORM DRAFT CONCLUDING  
DOCUMENT. YUGOSLAV DEL HAS, HOWEVER, CIRCULATED  
INFORMALLY A FOUR-PAGE DRAFT WITHOUT CLAIMING OFFICIAL  
SPONSORSHIP. IT IS EFFORT TO RETAIN FAIR AMOUNT  
OF SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL, BUT NOT HUMAN RIGHTS OR



BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS. NATO CAUCUS INTENDS, THEREFORE, TO STICK TO ALLIED CONCEPT OF A NON-SUBSTANTIVE SHORT DOCUMENT. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR WILL MEET AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 24 TO DISCUSS SITUATION WITH SOVIET AND YUGOSLAV AMBASSADORS. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE TOUGHENING THEIR POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP, INSISTING THAT THEY CAN TAKE NO DIRECT REFERENCE WHATSOEVER TO BELGRADE YELLOW BOOK AS A GUIDE FOR PROCEDURES OF MADRID MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. THE EXPECTED NNA INITIATIVE ON A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT NEVER CAME OUT OF THE STARTING GATE. NNA CAUCUS, WHICH HAS MANAGED SURPRISINGLY WELL THROUGHOUT BOTH PREPARATORY AND MAIN MEETING TO ACT TOGETHER DESPITE DISPARATE VIEWS OF ITS MEMBERS, FAILED IN TWO-DAY-LONG DRAFTING EFFORT TO PRODUCE COMMON TEXT. YUGOSLAVS PICKED UP BALL AND CIRCULATED A FOUR-PAGE DOCUMENT IN LATE AFTERNOON WHICH THEY CALLED A "NON-PAPER DRAFTED BY NO ONE" (TEXT SPETEL). IT REFLECTS IN FACT, HOWEVER, YUGOSLAV INTEREST IN OBTAINING A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT THAT GIVES APPEARANCE OF SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL SUBSTANCE. IT INCLUDES SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS ON DETENTE AND IMPLEMENTATION ASSESSMENT, INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPHS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, DISARMAMENT, THE MEDITERRANEAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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ECE WORK ON ENERGY, AND DISSEMINATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND THE BELGRADE DOCUMENT. IT ALSO INCLUDES, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO MEETINGS MANDATED BY THE FINAL ACT, SIMILAR EXPERTS MEETINGS FOR CBMS, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND INFORMATION QUESTIONS.

2. NATO CAUCUS REVIEWED DRAFT IMMEDIATELY AFTER PLENARY ADJOURNED THIS AFTERNOON WITHOUT SPEAKERS. CAUCUS CONCLUDED THAT ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO STICK WITH CONCEPT OF A NON-SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT SUCH AS THAT DEVELOPED BY CAUCUS ITSELF (BELGRADE 1478) SINCE YUGOSLAV EFFORT FAILED TO INCLUDE AREAS OF PRIMARY WESTERN INTEREST, HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS.

3. CAUCUS AUTHORIZED AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR TO MEET YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 24 TO DISCUSS SITUATION IN GENERAL TERMS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG ALSO INTENDS TO SEE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR PRIVATELY EARLIER IN DAY TO EXPLAIN PROBLEMS WE HAVE WITH YUGOSLAV EFFORT.

4. SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV HAS INDICATED INTEREST



IN CONVENING SMALL GROUP OF AMBASSADORS TO WORK OUT

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1527

SOLUTION TO IMPASSE. HE PRESUMABLY HAS IN MIND  
SOME SORT OF 2-2-2 MECHANISM THAT YUGOSLAVS  
BACKED OUT OF LAST WEEKEND. FEBRUARY 24 SESSIONS,  
HOWEVER, WOULD BE LESS FORMAL AND PROBABLY CENTERED AT  
LEAST INITIALLY ON EVALUATION OF YUGOSLAV EFFORT. COMMENTS  
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BY VORONTSOV AND HIS DEPUTY TO SEVERAL ALLIED AMBASSADORS SUGGEST THAT SOVIETS ALSO HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH PARTS OF YUGOSLAV TEXT, FOR EXAMPLE SECTION NOTING THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULTIES WITH DETENTE AND FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION. VORONTSOV'S IDEA OF NEGOTIATION ON YUGOSLAV TEXT, AS EXPLAINED TO BRITISH AMBASSADOR, WAS THAT SOVIETS AND WEST SHOULD EACH INDICATE WHAT PARAGRAPHS IN DRAFT WERE UNACCEPTABLE AND THAT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SHOULD CONSIST OF WHATEVER WAS LEFT.

5. DIFFICULTY THAT NNA HAD IN FINDING COMMON FORMULATION SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT NNA ARE NOT READY FOR SUCH AN APPROACH EVEN IF IT WOULD LEAD TO SHORT DOCUMENT NOT TOO UNLIKE THAT WHICH ALLIES HAVE DEVELOPED. SOME NNA, INCLUDING YUGOSLAVS AND MALTESE CLEARLY HAVE NOT GIVEN UP EFFORT TO OBTAIN SOMETHING IN AREAS OF THEIR SPECIAL INTEREST. ROMANIANS ARE SAYING AROUND CONFERENCE CENTER, BUT FINDING LITTLE RESPONSE, THAT MEETING SHOULD RECESS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS SO THAT DELEGATIONS COULD GET NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

6. PERHAPS MOST SIGNIFICANT INDICATION THAT ROAD TO A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WILL NOT BE QUICK OR EASY, HOWEVER, IS APPARENT TOUGHENING OF SOVIET POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP. UNTIL LAST FEW DAYS SOVIETS HAD BEEN HINTING THAT WHILE THEY DID NOT WISH TO DESCRIBE BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING'S YELLOW BOOK AS SOLE BASIS, MUTATIS MUTANDIS, FOR MADRID MEETING, THEY COULD TAKE SOME SORT OF FORMULATION THAT REFERRED TO IT AS ONE OF KEY FACTORS THAT WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AT MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING. NOW SOVIETS ARE SAYING THAT THERE CAN BE NO REFERENCE TO YELLOW BOOK AT ALL AND THAT, IN EFFECT, MADRID MEETING MUST BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BE FULLY AT LIBERTY TO CHOOSE ITS OWN COURSE WITHOUT BEING BOUND BY BELGRADE PRECEDENTS.

7. SOVIET POSITION MAY, OF COURSE, BE ONLY TACTICAL. NONETHELESS, A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SOME OF THOSE MOST DEDICATED TO CSCE PROCESS SUCH AS ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, ARE CONCERNED THAT SOVIETS SENSE THAT FEW DELEGATIONS ARE PREPARED TO BLOCK QUICK END TO THIS MEETING BECAUSE OF APPARENTLY PROCEDURAL POINT. THERE IS POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS SEE AN OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION FOR A FIGHT AT MADRID TO DENIGRATE REVIEW PROCESS. AT VERY LEAST,



FAILURE TO AGREE ON A FORMULA HERE THAT GIVES SIGNIFICANT WEIGHT TO YELLOW BOOK WOULD APPEAR TO MEAN THAT MADRID PREPARATORY MEETING WOULD HAVE TO GO OVER SAME GROUND THAT DELEGATIONS SPENT SEVEN WEEKS ON IN BELGRADE LAST SUMMER, FOR EXAMPLE, WHETHER THERE CAN BE COMMITTEES THAT WOULD FACILITATE DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD. ALLIES INTEND, THEREFORE, TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A YELLOW BOOK FORMULA AT INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP CONSULTATIONS MORNING OF FEBRUARY 24.

8. EXPECTATION IS THAT SOVIETS WILL PUSH HARD AT PLENARY IN AFTERNOON FOR ADOPTION OF A DATE BY WHICH TO CONCLUDE MEETING. EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT THAT ALL OF ABOVE ISSUES FALL INTO PLACE BEFORE PLENARY, ALLIES INTEND TO DENY CONSENSUS AND COUNTER WILL CALL FOR NEW WORK PROGRAM, EVEN IF ON DAY-TO-DAY BASIS.  
GOLDBERG

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## Message Attributes

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